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CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT  
THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON AIR TOXICS  
OPENING ADDRESS  
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ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA  
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GOOD MORNING. I WANT TO THANK HOWARD DANFORD FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK WITH YOU ABOUT ONE OF AMERICA'S MOST SERIOUS ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH PROBLEMS, THE RELEASE OF TOXIC CHEMICALS INTO THE AIR.

JUST OVER ONE YEAR AGO A POISONOUS CLOUD IN BHOPAL, INDIA KILLED OVER 2500 PEOPLE AND INJURED OVER 50,000 OTHERS. EVEN THOUGH THE NETWORK NEWS IS NO LONGER FILLED WITH THE AGONY AND HUMAN SUFFERING OF A PEOPLE HALF WAY AROUND THE WORLD, THE IMAGES OF BHOPAL HAVE BECOME ETCHED IN THE PUBLIC'S CONSCIOUSNESS.

TODAY, AS A RESULT, THERE IS HEIGHTENED AWARENESS OF THE HAZARDS POSED BY CHEMICAL MANUFACTURING AND USE.

HOW BAD IS THE AIR TOXICS PROBLEM? HOW MUCH OF WHICH CHEMICALS ARE BEING RELEASED INTO OUR AIR SUPPLY? HOW ARE THESE SUBSTANCES AFFECTING THE PUBLIC HEALTH ?

WE DO NOT REALLY KNOW.

WE DO NOT KNOW BECAUSE EPA HAS NEVER SOUGHT TO GATHER THE CRUCIAL INFORMATION ON HOW MUCH OF WHICH CHEMICALS ARE BEING RELEASED INTO THE AIR. DETAILED ASSESSMENTS OF HEALTH IMPACTS ARE THEREFORE IMPOSSIBLE.

IF THE AGENCY HAS ITS WAY, THEY WILL REMAIN IMPOSSIBLE. FOR EPA HAS NO PLANS, EVEN AS PART OF ITS "NEW" AIR TOXICS STRATEGY, TO COLLECT THE VITAL DATA ON TOXIC RELEASES NECESSARY TO EVALUATE COMMUNITY EXPOSURES.

WHAT WE DO KNOW IS NOT REASSURING.

IN OUR SURVEY OF CHEMICAL PLANTS LAST JANUARY, I WROTE TO THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF 86 OF AMERICA'S LARGEST CHEMICAL COMPANIES REQUESTING INFORMATION ON THE AMOUNT OF POISONOUS GASES AND OTHER HAZARDOUS COMPOUNDS BEING LEAKED INTO COMMUNITY AIR SUPPLIES FROM THEIR PLANTS.

THIS EFFORT IS A FAR CRY FROM THE EXTENSIVE SCIENTIFIC EVALUATION THAT THE AIR TOXIC PROBLEM DESERVES. BUT NO SERIOUS EFFORT HAD BEEN MADE TO GATHER EVEN THE MOST BASIC INFORMATION ON HOW MUCH OF WHICH TOXIC CHEMICALS ARE BEING RELEASED INTO AMERICA'S AIR. THE SURVEY OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY TO AT LEAST ROUGHLY GAUGE THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH THREAT CAUSED BY TOXICS LEAKED OR VENTED FROM CHEMICAL PLANTS.

WE LEARNED THAT MORE THAN 80 MILLION POUNDS OF TOXIC CHEMICALS ARE

LEAKED INTO THE AIR EACH YEAR FROM JUST THE 80 COMPANIES THAT RESPONDED TO OUR SURVEY. ALMOST EVERY CHEMICAL PLANT THAT RESPONDED IS RELEASING DISTURBING LEVELS OF CHEMICALS WHICH ARE PROVEN OR SUSPECTED HEALTH HAZARDS.

THE RELEASE OF THESE HAZARDOUS COMPOUNDS IS WHOLLY UNREGULATED. WHILE DOZENS OF TOXIC SUBSTANCES ARE BEING RELEASED INTO COMMUNITY AIR SUPPLIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY, EPA HAS MANAGED TO REGULATE ONLY SIX AIR TOXICS IN THE PAST 16 YEARS.

THIS IS POSSIBLE BECAUSE EPA HAS BEEN, AND CONTINUES TO BE, UNWILLING TO DESIGNATE CLEARLY DANGEROUS CHEMICALS AS HAZARDOUS UNDER THE CLEAN AIR ACT. IN THIS WAY THE AGENCY HAS CIRCUMVENTED CONGRESS' CLEAR MANDATE TO REGULATE "HAZARDOUS AIR POLLUTANTS"

DANGEROUS SUBSTANCES THAT EPA REFUSES TO CONSIDER HAZARDOUS INCLUDE: FORMALDEHYDE, CHLOROFORM, PCBs, CARBON TETRACHLORIDE, AND ACRYLONITRILE. ALL OF THESE COMPOUNDS HAVE BEEN FORMALLY LISTED AS HAZARDOUS BY THE NATIONAL TOXICOLOGY PROGRAM OF THE U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE. ALL ARE TIGHTLY REGULATED BY OSHA WITH REGARD TO OCCUPATIONAL EXPOSURES. BUT THERE IS NO LIMIT ON THE AMOUNT OF THESE AND DOZENS OF OTHER TOXICS THAT MAY BE RELEASED INTO COMMUNITY AIR SUPPLIES.

EVEN PUBLIC PRESSURE STEMMING FROM THE TRAGEDY IN BHOPAL DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE PUSHED EPA INTO TAKING REAL ACTION. I'D LIKE TO READ TO YOU A PASSAGE FROM THE OPENING PARAGRAPH OF EPA'S PRONOUNCEMENT IN THE FEDERAL REGISTER LAST FALL ON ITS PLANS FOR TAKING ACTION ON THE CANCER CAUSER 1,3 BUTADIENE.

... EPA NOW INTENDS TO ADD 1,3 BUTADIENE TO THE LIST OF HAZARDOUS AIR POLLUTANTS FOR WHICH IT INTENDS TO ESTABLISH EMISSION STANDARDS UNDER SECTION 112 OF THE CLEAN AIR ACT. THE EPA WILL DECIDE WHETHER TO ADD 1,3 BUTADIENE TO THE LIST ONLY AFTER STUDYING POSSIBLE TECHNIQUES THAT MIGHT BE USED TO CONTROL EMISSIONS OF 1,3 BUTADIENE AND AFTER FURTHER ASSESSING THE PUBLIC HEALTH RISKS. THE EPA WILL ADD 1,3 BUTADIENE TO THE LIST IF EMISSION STANDARDS ARE WARRENTED.

WHAT DOES THIS BUREAUCRATIC DOUBLETALK MEAN? THIS PRONOUNCEMENT DOES NOT REPRESENT AN EPA COMMITMENT TO REGULATE THE RELEASE OF 1,3 BUTADIENE. IN EFFECT, THE AGENCY HAS DECIDED TO DECIDE. I UNDERSTAND THAT EPA ANTICIPATES THAT IT WILL BE TWO ADDITIONAL YEARS BEFORE IT REACHES A DECISION ON WHETHER OR NOT TO REGULATE.

IN THE MEANTIME THIS CARCINOGEN WILL CONTINUE TO BE RELEASED INTO COMMUNITY AIR SUPPLIES. BORG WARNER CHEMICAL CAN CONTINUE TO RELEASE NEARLY THREE TONS DAILY FROM ITS PLANT IN PARKERSBERG, W. VA, JUST AS OTHER SOURCES CAN CONTINUE UNABATED.

THE AGENCY'S PRESS RELEASE ANNOUNCED THAT EPA HAD TAKEN "ACTION" ON 1,3 BUTADIENE. BUT THIS IS HARDLY AN "ACTION" IN THE USUAL SENSE OF THE WORD. THIS IS "ACTION" EPA STYLE.

THIS NEW "INTENT TO LIST" IS A CLEAR EXAMPLE OF EPA'S "NO CAN DO"

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE AIR TOXICS PROBLEM. IT IS A RESHUFFLING OF PAPER WHICH ALLOWS THE AGENCY TO CLAIM THAT IT IS MAKING PROGRESS ON THIS ISSUE, BUT DOES ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TOWARD PROTECTING THE PUBLIC HEALTH IN PARKERSBURG, W.VA. OR IN COMMUNITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY WHERE TOXIC RELEASES ARE FOULING THE AIR.

THE AGENCY HAS PURPORTED TO REACH DECISIONS ON 18 DIFFERENT COMPOUNDS THROUGH THE "INTENT TO LIST" OR "INTENT NOT TO LIST" CLASSIFICATIONS. THIS IS THE CENTRAL MEANS BY WHICH EPA NOW CLAIMS THAT IT HAS LIVED UP TO ITS COMMITMENT TO REACH DECISIONS ON SOME 25 SUBSTANCES BY THE END OF THIS YEAR. YET, CLEARLY, DECISIONS ARE STILL NOT BEING MADE.

IF WE LOOK BEYOND THE PROBLEM OF ROUTINE EMISSIONS TO THE AGENCY'S EFFORTS TO COPE WITH ACCIDENTAL RELEASES OF AIR TOXICS, THE PICTURE IS LITTLE DIFFERENT. IN EPA'S AIR TOXICS STRATEGY, THE AGENCY PAINTS A ROSY PICTURE OF AMERICA'S SUCCESS IN CONTROLLING ACCIDENTAL RELEASES. "IN THIS COUNTRY," THE AGENCY CONCLUDES, "MOST ACCIDENTAL RELEASES ARE QUICKLY CONTROLLED SO THAT PEOPLE ARE NOT SERIOUSLY INJURED."

MEANWHILE, HOWEVER, A DRAFT REPORT BEING ASSEMBLED ELSEWHERE WITHIN THE AGENCY DOCUMENTED 6900 ACCIDENTAL CHEMICAL RELEASES LEADING TO 135 DEATHS AND MORE THAN 1500 INJURIES OVER THE PAST FIVE YEARS.

ONCE AGAIN THE EPA RESPONSE HAS BEEN LITTLE MORE THAN COSMETIC. THE AGENCY PUBLISHED AN "ACUTE HAZARDS" LIST IDENTIFYING SOME 402 CHEMICALS WHICH, IF ACCIDENTALLY RELEASED, WOULD CREATE A SERIOUS PUBLIC HEALTH THREAT.

BUT WHAT HAPPENS NEXT? THERE ARE NO ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS THAT ACCOMPANY A CHEMICAL'S LISTING. NO MONITORING OR SAFETY PROCEDURES, NO NEW REGULATIONS, NO MANDATE FOR INFORMATION ABOUT INVENTORIES AND STORAGE. NO LIST OF WHAT COMPANIES HANDLE OR MAKE THESE CHEMICALS. THE LIST OF CHEMICALS IS SIMPLY THERE, SO THAT LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND OTHERS MIGHT KNOW WHICH CHEMICALS TO WORRY ABOUT.

THIS SYSTEM OF SELF REGULATION CANNOT CONTINUE. CORPORATE SAFETY AUDITS UNDERTAKEN AT BHOPAL BEFORE THE ACCIDENT THERE WERE IGNORED. SIMILAR AUDITS IN INSTITUTE, WEST VIRGINIA WERE REJECTED. YET UNION CARBIDE UNTIL RECENTLY ENJOYED A REPUTATION AS ONE OF THE MORE SAFETY CONSCIOUS CHEMICAL COMPANIES.

SELF-REGULATION WILL NOT PREVENT THE DAY TO DAY, BUSINESS AS USUAL RELEASES OF TOXIC CHEMICALS INTO THE AIR. AND IT WILL NOT PREVENT ENVIRONMENTAL DISASTERS OF PERHAPS GREATER MAGNITUDE.

SELF-REGULATION MEANS TREMENDOUS DISPARITIES IN THE LEVEL OF EFFORT AND CARE DIRECTED TO CONTROLLING TOXIC CHEMICAL RELEASES BY DIFFERENT COMPANIES. IT MEANS NO UNIFORM ASSURANCE TO THE PUBLIC OF SAFETY. WHILE SOME CHEMICAL FIRMS HAVE UNDERTAKEN COMPANY-WIDE SAFETY IMPROVEMENTS, OTHERS CONTINUE TO OPERATE WITH LITTLE KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE SAFETY OF THEIR OPERATIONS.

I DON'T BELIEVE THE PUBLIC WILL ALLOW THE INDUSTRY TO REMAIN ON A

WORLDWIDE HONOR SYSTEM. EVEN SOME CHEMICAL INDUSTRY LEADERS HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT PUBLIC CONFIDENCE HAS BEEN BADLY SHAKEN AND HAVE CALLED UPON CONGRESS TO SET UNIFORM STANDARDS AS A RESULT.

EPA DEFENDS ITS POLICY OF INACTION BY INCREASING RELIANCE ON "QUANTITATIVE RISK ASSESSMENT." THIS TOOL IS USED TO PREDICT THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE THAT WILL CONTRACT CANCER FROM EXPOSURE TO A CHEMICAL. BUT WITHOUT SOUND DATA, RISK ASSESSMENT PRODUCES MEANINGLESS NUMBERS. WHEN ASSESSING CHEMICALS, EPA SIMPLY ASSUMES THAT OTHER TOXIC EFFECTS SUCH AS BRAIN DAMAGE, BIRTH DEFECTS AND LUNG, KIDNEY AND LIVER DISEASE DO NOT OCCUR.

THE MOST BLATANT ABUSE AND MISUSE OF THIS TOOL THAT I HAVE SEEN HAS BEEN IN EPA'S RECENTLY ANNOUNCED AIR TOXIC STRATEGY TARGETING DRY CLEANERS, WOOD STOVES AND GAS STATIONS FOR EVENTUAL FEDERAL CONTROLS, AND LEAVING STATE AND LOCAL AGENCIES TO SET STANDARDS FOR RELEASES OF HAZARDOUS SUBSTANCES FROM CHEMICAL PLANTS AND OTHER LARGE FACILITIES.

OUR SUBCOMMITTEE HAS RECEIVED SHOCKING TESTIMONY FROM PEOPLE WHO LIVE NEAR CHEMICAL PLANTS WHO DESCRIBED HUMAN SUFFERING AND DEATH BELIEVED TO BE CAUSED BY RELEASES FROM THESE FACILITIES. PEOPLE IN THE KANAWHA VALLEY IN WEST VIRGINIA TOLD US THAT THEY MUST SLEEP ON AN INCLINE AT NIGHT TO KEEP FROM DROWNING IN THEIR OWN FLUIDS. PEOPLE FROM LOUISIANA TOLD US THAT THEY ARE EXPERIENCING CANCER, MISCARRIAGES, AND BIRTH DEFECTS AT UNPRECEDENTED RATES.

THESE PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE ABANDONED WHILE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SWEEPS DOWN UPON NEIGHBORHOOD DRY CLEANERS.

MOREOVER, THERE IS LITTLE SUPPORT FOR EPA'S PLAN TO DELEGATE THE REGULATION OF CHEMICAL PLANT EMISSIONS TO THE STATES. MOST STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS READILY ADMIT THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE THE EXPERTISE OR THE RESOURCES TO DEVELOP STANDARDS FOR HAZARDOUS CHEMICALS RELEASED FROM SUCH PLANTS.

EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY, THE STATE AGENCIES KNOW THAT ALONE, THEY ARE NO MATCH FOR MULTI-NATIONAL COMPANIES THREATENING TO MOVE THEIR JOBS AND TAX BASE TO OTHER STATES IF THEIR LAX STANDARDS ARE TIGHTENED.

CONGRESS IS BEING INEVITABLY DRAWN INTO THE DEBATE ABOUT THE SAFETY OF THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY AND EPA'S FAILURE TO ESTABLISH SAFE STANDARDS. WE ARE BEING PRESSED BY THE PUBLIC AND MANY STATES TO REJECT EPA'S STRATEGY AND PUT INTO PLACE A PROGRAM THAT WILL PROTECT THE MILLIONS OF AMERICANS EXPOSED TO DANGEROUS AIR TOXICS EVERY DAY.

LAST SPRING TIM WIRTH, JIM FLORIO AND I INTRODUCED H.R. 2576, WHICH WOULD GET EPA STARTED IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. EPA WOULD BE REQUIRED TO SET STANDARDS FOR 85 CHEMICALS FOUND TO CAUSE CANCER OR BE ACUTELY TOXIC. EPA WOULD HAVE TO PROMPTLY PUT IN PLACE RULES DESIGNED TO PREVENT CHEMICAL LEAKS INTO THE AIR, BOTH ROUTINE AND CATASTROPHIC. THE AGENCY WOULD FINALLY BE REQUIRED TO COLLECT AND MAKE PUBLIC AN INVENTORY OF TOXIC RELEASES INTO THE AIR.

FRANKLY, IT IS POLITICALLY DIFFICULT FOR MANY MEMBERS TO SUPPORT A

BILL THAT REQUIRES REGULATION OF THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY. SUCH LEGISLATION IS OFTEN ASSAILED AS ATTACKING CHEMICALS OR THE INDUSTRIES WHICH HAVE MADE US ALL HEALTHIER AND MORE PROSPEROUS.

THAT IS PLAIN SILLY -- INSTILLING SAFETY WILL NOT DESTROY THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY.

THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE BETWEEN A CHEMICAL FREE WORLD AND A CHEMICAL LADEN ENVIRONMENT, JUST AS THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE BETWEEN NO CARS AT ALL AND THE U.S. CARS OF THE 1960'S WHICH POURED CLOUDS OF POLLUTION. TODAY THE U.S. AUTO MAKERS SELL AT A HEALTHY PROFIT SOME OF THE CLEANEST CARS IN THE WORLD.

WE CAN DO THE SAME WITH CHEMICALS. VIRTUALLY NO ONE DISPUTES THAT THERE IS A GULF BETWEEN THE INDUSTRY SAFETY PRACTICES OF TODAY AND THAT WHICH CAN BE ACHIEVED TOMORROW.

WHERE OUR LAWS HAVE FAILED -- AND SOME OF THEM HAVE -- THEY OUGHT TO BE CORRECTED. AND WHERE THE TASK HAS NEVER BEEN UNDERTAKEN, IT SHOULD NOW BE CONFRONTED.

THE BILL THAT WE HAVE INTRODUCED, H.R. 2576, WOULD REQUIRE THAT EPA FINALLY BEGIN COLLECTING INFORMATION FROM THE INDUSTRY ABOUT LEAKS OF TOXIC CHEMICALS AND MAKE THIS INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC. THE MANDATORY INVENTORY OF LEAKS, COUPLED WITH THE STRONG COMMUNITY RIGHT-TO-KNOW PROVISIONS IN THIS BILL, WILL, I BELIEVE, GO A LONG WAY TOWARDS SPURRING EPA INTO DOING ITS JOB.

H.R. 2576 WILL FOR THE FIRST TIME REQUIRE THAT MANUFACTURERS OF EXTREMELY HAZARDOUS CHEMICALS GO THROUGH A GOVERNMENT LICENSING PROCEDURE TO ENSURE THAT THEY ARE USING THE SAFEST TECHNOLOGY AVAILABLE.

H.R. 2576 WILL ALSO GIVE CITIZENS THE RIGHT TO SUE IN FEDERAL COURTS IF THEY ARE INJURED FROM EXPOSURE TO AIR TOXICS. COMPANIES WOULD BE REQUIRED TO PREPARE EVACUATION PLANS IN CASE OF AN EMERGENCY.

EPA'S ADMINISTRATOR HAS TESTIFIED BEFORE OUR SUBCOMMITTEE THAT THE REAGAN EPA IS NOT ABLE TO IMPLEMENT SUCH A BILL. I AGREE. EPA WAS ESTABLISHED TO BE THE WATCHDOG OF THE ENVIRONMENT. BUT UNFORTUNATELY IT HAS BEEN MUZZLED AND PLACED ON A VERY SHORT LEASH BY THIS WHITE HOUSE AND OMB.

MY LEGISLATION ENVISIONS A VERY DIFFERENT EPA. I SEE AN EPA FOCUSED ON THE DIFFICULT NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS FACING HUMANITY -- NOT ONE OBSESSED WITH REGULATING DRY CLEANERS, WOOD STOVES AND GAS STATIONS.

BHOPAL HAS RAISED VERY LARGE QUESTIONS ABOUT CHEMICAL SAFETY NOT ONLY IN THE UNITED STATES BUT ALL OVER THE WORLD. A MAJOR FINDING IN THE AFTERMATH OF BHOPAL HAS BEEN THAT THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES DON'T HAVE ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCIES WITH THE EXPERTISE OR THE CLOUT TO HANDLE A MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION'S TOXIC PROBLEMS.

INDIA IS NOT ALONE IN FACING ENVIRONMENTAL CALAMITIES AS A RESULT OF POORLY CONTROLLED MULTINATIONAL CHEMICAL PLANTS. THE RELEASE OF MERCURY IN JAKARTA, INDONESIA HAS LED TO MANY DEATHS AND THOUSANDS OF DEFORMITIES AMONG ITS VICTIMS. BRAZILIANS CALL CUBATAO VALLEY, WHERE MONSANTO, UNION CARBIDE AND OTHER U.S. CORPORATIONS DO BUSINESS, "THE VALLEY OF DEATH" BECAUSE 40 OF EVERY 1000 BABIES ARE STILLBORN AND 40 DIE WITHIN THE FIRST WEEK, MANY DEFORMED.

I SEE OUR EPA TAKING A WORLDWIDE LEADERSHIP ROLE BY SETTING TOUGH STANDARDS AND THEN SHARING THEIR EXPERTISE WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. TOGETHER WE CAN FIND WAYS TO AVOID THESE KINDS OF INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL TRAGEDIES.

EVEN MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS WILL SHARE IN THE BENEFITS OF A RENEWED EPA. STANDARDS AND NEW LEADERSHIP WILL BRING INCREASED CONFIDENCE THAT ENVIRONMENTAL AND INVESTMENT DECISIONS ARE BEING REVIEWED.

THIS RENEWED EPA ROLE IS ALSO CLEARLY IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES. WE CONTROL ONE-FOURTH OF THE WORLD'S WEALTH AND A GREATER PERCENTAGE OF ITS SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL KNOW-HOW. ENVIRONMENTAL CATASTROPHIES SUCH AS BHOPAL HAVE A DIRECT BEARING ON HOW WE ARE PERCEIVED AS A PEOPLE BY DEVELOPING NATIONS. OFTEN THE ONLY AMERICANS THAT A HOST COUNTRY'S PEOPLE GET TO KNOW ARE ASSOCIATED WITH MULTINATIONALS DOING BUSINESS THERE. DISTORTED CORPORATE DECISIONS THAT ARE DRIVEN SOLELY BY SHORT-TERM ECONOMIC INTERESTS WILL INEVITABLY JEOPARDIZE THE REPUTATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN MOST THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES.

THE ROAD WE CHOOSE FOR ADDRESSING CHEMICAL PLANT SAFETY WILL AFFECT THE HEALTH AND SAFETY OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN THE YEARS TO COME. SOME WOULD BELIEVE THAT BHOPAL WILL SOON BE FORGOTTEN -- THAT THE COUNTRY'S ATTENTION SPAN IS ONLY A FEW SECONDS NO MATTER HOW TERRIBLE THE TRAGEDY OR HOW CLOSE TO HOME THE RISK.

BUT I BELIEVE THAT THE FACES OF BHOPAL WILL NOT BE EASILY ERASED. EACH NEW TOXIC LEAK WILL BE A GRIM REMINDER THAT THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY CAN NO LONGER BE LEFT ALONE TO SAFEGUARD PUBLIC HEALTH.

AT ONE OF OUR HEARINGS WARREN ANDERSON, UNION CARBIDE'S CHAIRMAN, SAID THAT HE THOUGHT "BHOPAL HAD CHANGED THE WORLD". I WISH I COULD AGREE. BUT AT THIS POINT, WE CAN ONLY SAY THAT BHOPAL HAS SENSITIZED THE WORLD.

IT IS UP TO ALL OF US TO CHANGE IT.